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Kinship Groups

The phratry

615 618 I have used the term phratry (*yavusa*) to designate a group of clans believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor or group of ancestors. The ancestor may have been a human being, an animal or a plant. The phratry is to some extent also a racial, a ceremonial, and an occupational classification. It serves as a broad basis for the ranking system.

There are five phratries in southern Lau: the land phratry (*yavusa vanua*); the chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*); the chiefs' carpenters (*matai sau*); the *lemaki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*); and the sea people (*kai wai*). Most of the clans of the islands studied belong to either the land or the chiefs' phratry.

The land phratry

The members of the land phratry (*yavusa vanua*) are called land people (*kai vanua*). On each island they claim descent from the earliest known inhabitants of the land (*na vanua*). Members of the land phratry on each island are united by a belief in their common mythical origin in some natural phenomenon. The land people on Kambara and their relatives, the former inhabitants of Wangava, believe they originated in the *ngingia* tree (*Suriana maritima*) (p. 105). Those of Fulanga claim descent from a hen (*toa*), those of Mothe from an *ivi* tree, and those of Namuka are supposed to have descended from a white dog (p. 106). There are no other stories of the origin of the land people and no migration tales concerning them. Clans of the land phratry have little interest in their genealogies which they trace back not more than four to six generations and always to ancestors born in Lau.

As a group the land people are recognized to be shorter, darker skinned, more frizzly haired, coarser featured, in short more Melanesian in racial type, than the other inhabitants of Lau. Their movements and manners are considered awkward. They seem to have more sense of humor and to be more modest and less materialistic than members of the other phratries. They make the best gardeners in Lau and own the greater part of the garden land.

565 The land phratry ranks lowest of all the phratries in Lau. Its members are considered to be commoners and to form the lower class of the population. It is the largest phratry in Lau. On the islands visited it is strongest on Fulanga, Ongea, and Namuka. Usually at least 80 percent of the population of a village belongs to the land phratry. Many villages consist of clans belonging to the land phratry only.

The chiefs' phratry

Members of the chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*) claim descent from a group of immigrants led by the war hero Ndaunisai who, according to tradi-

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tion, came to southern Lau from northeast Viti Levu (p. 38). Most clans in this phratry trace their pedigrees nine to twelve generations directly to Ndaunisai (table 2, following p. 32). The group is believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor, Ndengei, the great snake god of Viti Levu. Ndengei is believed to be the forefather of Ndaunisai.

Members of the chiefs' phratry are considered to be taller, fairer skinned, less frizzly haired and finer featured, in short more Polynesian in racial type, than the members of the land phratry.

The chiefs' phratry holds the highest rank in Lau. It constitutes the Lauan nobility, and its members together with those of the carpenter phratries and the sea people form the upper class, as opposed to the land people or lower class. Members of the chiefs' phratry are interested in etiquette and chiefly ceremonial. They have graceful manners and a dignified bearing. They are poor gardeners and dislike working on the land, but they are expert sailors and fishermen and were formerly great warriors.

The village of Tumbou, Lakemba, is the center of the nobility of Lau. According to the genealogies, clans belonging definitely to the chiefs' phratry are found in southern Lau only in the village of Nasau on Mothe and in the villages of Nggalinggāli and Tokalau on Kambara. No village is composed entirely of clans belonging to the upper class.

The chiefs' carpenters

Ancestors of the chiefs' carpenter phratry (*matai sau*), according to Fijian lore, migrated from northeast Viti Levu to southern Lau before the Ndaunisai movement. They came in search of the greenheart. The group claims Rokola, the god of carpenters, as their forefather.

According to the clan genealogies, the chiefs' carpenter group first established itself on Kambara where it founded the Saumua clan of Undu. The people of Kambara say that the Saumua clan provided the carpenters for the chiefs of Kambara before the coming of the *lemaki* carpenters.

According to the genealogies, the chiefs' carpenters spread from Kambara to Namuka and Fulanga. Seven generations ago Matakali of the Saumua clan, Undu, founded a chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga which is now a part of the Nggalitoka clan. A chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga, belonging to the Nasava clan, Muanaithake, also traces its ancestry back seven generations to Matakali of Saumua. As Matakali does not appear in the pedigree of the Undu group, which extends back only six generations, this information cannot be checked. The headman of these three clans (Saumua, Nggalitoka, and Nasava) hold the hereditary clan title of *matai sau*, a ranking island title. Every male in these groups is trained to be a carpenter. These were the only chiefs' carpenters found on the islands visited.

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Lemaki carpenters

615 618 The *lemaki* carpenter phratry (*matai lemaki*), according to tradition and pedigree, was founded by Lemaki, a Samoan carpenter who came to Lau from Samoa about eight generations ago, after the chiefs' phratry was well established in Lau. Tatchini, the headman of the Matai Lemaki clan in Nggalinggali, Kambara, said the group originated as follows:

> Lemaki, Tatchini's ancestor seven generations back, was a carpenter born on Manono Island, Samoa. He went from Samoa to Nukulofa, Tonga, whence he was sent to Lau for the purpose of building a large, double canoe for the Tongan king. He became carpenter to the high chief of Lau at Lakemba and established a hereditary line of carpenters to the high chief. Lemaki's first son, Manako Siali (Makasiali), and his grandsons spread the *lemaki* line to the southern islands, where they built canoes of hardwoods unobtainable in the north. Malamala, Manako Siali's first-born son, settled on Kambara, where he became the carpenter to the chief of Kambara. Later he was driven from Tokalau because of an affair with the chief's wife. He went to the other side of the island and the chief of Nggalinggali received him and gave him a house site called Tangguiwai, in the old village. With his principal wife, Ndranivasa of the chiefs' phratry, he founded the Matai Lemaki clan.

The headman of the clan holds the hereditary clan title of *matai lemaki*. According to Tatchini, the group formerly specialized in making double canoes of the *tambetembete* type (pp. 186-187); houses of the *vale vaka tonga* type (pp. 160-169); and multiple-legged kava bowls, especially ten-legged bowls, which they are reputed to have introduced into Lau. Today *lemaki* carpenters are hired to direct island, village and clan communal activities. They also work the clan garden lands.

Except in Nggalinggali, *lemaki* blood was absorbed by local clans in southern Lau. For example, according to the genealogies recorded on Namuka, Matathatchi, one of Malamala's wives, belonged to the Mboutolu clan on Namuka. Their son, Sekope, born on Namuka, established a hereditary line of carpenters in Mboutolu, his mother's clan.

The sea people

Two clans in southern Lau, Vandravandra on Fulanga and Tawalo on Ongea, call themselves sea people (*kai wai*). Although I was unable to determine the full significance of this term, on the basis of the following evidence I have classed the sea people as a separate phratry.

The genealogies of the two clans are known for only six generations and during this time they show no kinship to each other. Each is traced to a local ancestor but they may, of course, have had a common ancestor before the six generations recorded. An old informant on Fulanga says that before coming to Fulanga the Vandravandra group lived at Narothake on the island of Ngau in the Lomai Viti group, Fiji. The clan headman of Vandravandra holds the title Tui Naro and Fulanga informants agree that the clan formerly lived at a hamlet site called Narothake on the island.

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It is probable that the Vandravandra clan is related to a historic group of sailors and fishermen who were expelled from Mbau island and fled eastward. Remnants of this group are known to have settled in the Lomai Viti islands, at Levuka village on Lakemba, and elsewhere in eastern Fiji. The Levuka people call themselves *kai wai*. In the past they formed a professional caste. The men were sailors and traders and the women were potters.

According to Hocart (15, p. 18), the Ndaulakemba clan of Levuka holds the hereditary clan title of master fisherman (*ndau*). The two clans of sea people in southern Lau, Vandravandra and Tawalo, also hold the title of master fisherman. On Kambara and Mothe the title is held, however, by clans that are not called sea people. The master fisherman of Kambara belongs to the Vuanitavola clan of the chiefs' phratry and that of Mothe to the Nggali clan of the land phratry. On Fulanga, the master fisherman holds an especially high local rank. He is considered to be chief of the sea, as Tui Fulanga is chief of the land. This may be because fishing is particularly important as a source of food on Fulanga where the master fisherman has retained more of his functions than on any other island in southern Lau.

THE CLAN

I have used the term clan (*matanggali*) to designate a unilateral kinship unit which is, as a rule, exogamous, patrilineal, and patrilocal.

Theoretically, a clan consists of the descendants of a band of brothers who occupied a hamlet site. A few clans trace their pedigrees to the original bands. Hamlet sites are found on the islands today, in garden land or in the bush. They often bear the names of the clan or subclans which formerly occupied them. They are usually near a fortress site, which is located on a promontory or hill, and defended by means of tiers of rough stone walls. Old informants say that the hamlet dwellers occupied the fortresses only in times of warfare. The hamlet was formerly the land-owning unit, possessing proprietary rights over the hamlet site and the garden and bush lands in the vicinity. With the cessation of warfare after the advent of Christianity most hamlets moved to more convenient sites along the coast. In this they were encouraged by the colonial government, and today all the natives live in coast villages. Several neighboring hamlets united to form one village, in which each retained its local unity. The hamlet units grew into clans and their local unity is still clear in most villages.

Formerly each clan had its own gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena (pp. 109-111).

Each ranking clan owns one or more hereditary titles, which determine its rank and affect the rank of its members. The titles are held by the clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*), who directs the affairs of the group. The office of clan headman is hereditary, descending from the first-born male to his

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TABLE 2. ABSTRACT OF THE RECONSTRUCTED GENEALO

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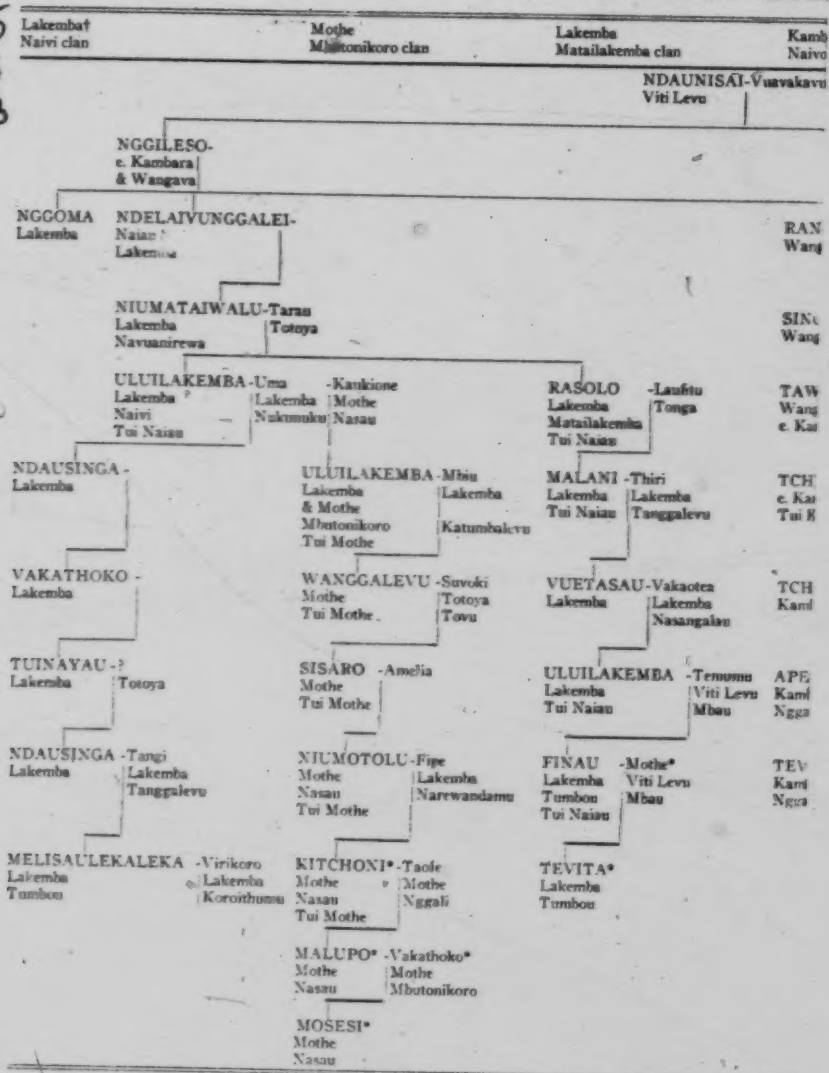

† The Lakemba branch is taken from Hocart (15, Appendix); the others from genealogies obtained locally (see pp. 36 f
* Indicates those living in 1933.

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TRUCTED GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS' PHRATRY IN LAU

	Kambara Naivotavota clan	Kambara Tanggu clan	Kambara Vuanikathu clan
	AUNISAI-Vuavakavutu Levu		-Naitukuninggila Kambara Vanua
		WETASAU- c. Kambara	NAWASAMBALAVU-Lambathi w. Kambara Vuanikathu | Kambara Vanua
	RANDAUVALA - Wangava	KELEI - c. Kambara	TUWAI -Maitonga w. Kambara | Totoya Mbusa Natukosukuso
	SINGAMBONGI-Ufia Wangava | Totoya	SUE -Ufia c. Kambara Totoya	VAKAYAUYAU -Naitambanitha w. Kambara | Kambara Vanua
unfitu onga	TAWAKETCHINI - Vutu Wangava & c. Kambara | Kambara Nanggara	MBUATOKA -? c. Kambara | Kambara Lomatchi	VATUUNDU-Raloaloa w. Kambara | Thithia Mambula
mba galevu	TCHIAOTCHI-Watchi c. Kambara Tui Kambara | Kambara Nanggara	SAURARA -Yambe c. Kambara | Lakemba Matailakemba	TUITONGA -Soveiwai w. Kambara | Totoya Mousa Natukosakosa?
akaotea akemba asangalau	TCHOSEFA -Tchimaima Kambara | Kambara Lomatchi	ROKOTCHONI-Ulamila c. Kambara | Kambara Lomatchi Nawi	TUISAMOA -Usavere w. Kambara | Kambara Mbete
A -Tenumu Viti Levu. Mbau	APETENIKO -Riniete Kambara Nggalinggali | Kambara Undu Saumua	SANAILA -Litea Kambara Nggali- nggali | Kambara Undu Saumua?	THAKAUNIWERE-Tangatanga w. Kambara | Kambara Vuanitavola
e* Levu	TEVITA* Kambara Nggalinggali	TCHIANI* -Silai Kambara Nggali- nggali | Kambara Nggali- nggali Nanggara	SEFANAIA -Lusiose w. Kambara | Kambara Vuanitavola
		TCHONI* Kambara Nggalinggali	TIMOTHE THAKAU-Tchichilia Kambara Tokalau Tui Kambara | Kambara Tokalau Katoka
			TCHOSAIA* -Kaituate Kambara Tokalau | Tonga Vavau
			INOKE* Kambara Tokalau

ted locally (see pp. 38-39).

[p 38 (B)]

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Tongans.[30] Moreover, as noted in *Southern Lau*,[31] more than 80% of the inhabitants are affiliated not with the "Nakauvandra people" but the earlier land people. (See pp. 8 ff.) In this connection one wonders why, if Capell and Lester are so sure that "certainty is difficult to reach" regarding the problems of southern Lau, they make a categorical statement regarding the basis of Lauan civilization without documentation. In this connection we should also note that, according to population estimates, the "Nakauvandra people" did not by any means overrun southern Lau, as maintained by Capell and Lester.[32]

Let us turn now to some of the findings in *Southern Lau* to which my critics take explicit exception. "Totemic" phenomena, on which Capell and Lester centre their concern in southern Lau, cannot be understood except in the context of the functioning social system as a whole. Although this is fully treated in *Southern Lau*, for purposes of the discussion it will be necessary to include a brief outline of it here.

The Functioning Social System of Southern Lau

The most obvious social unit in southern Lau is the village (called *koro*). The villages are united into larger political divisions of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) which stand in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Moreover, each village is composed of three or more clans (called *matanggali*), that is, unilateral kinship groups which as a rule are exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal. Before the abolition of warfare in Lau the clans occupied hamlets (called *itokatoka*) in garden lands or clearing in the bush. Thereafter they moved to the coast and united in villages but many clans still retained their local unity in the village. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, that is, both kinship and geographic units. The clans are divided into sub-clans (usually called *mbatchi ni lovo*, although the senior sub-clans may be called *itokatoka*). The sub-clans are subdivided into families or households (called *vuvale*).

The clans may also be classified into larger kinship divisions which I have called phratries (*yavusa*). There were five such groups of clans on the five islands surveyed, that is, two major groups, namely (1) the clans of the land people (*kai vanua*) and (2) the clans of the "Nakauvandra people"; and three minor groups, namely (1) the clans of the chief's carpenters (*matai sau*), (2) those of the *lameki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*), and (3) those of the sea people (*kai wai*). From an analysis of all the available data, including the genealogies of the thirty-seven clans existent in 1933-34, it appears that these five phratries stem from historic migrations to the islands.

Inasmuch as the evidence concerning the "Nakauvandra" group of clans is the most clear cut, I shall discuss it first, although to this phratry only five clans (representing less than 20% of the population of southern Lau) may be definitely assigned.

[30] *Southern Lau*, pp. 212 ff.

[31] *Southern Lau*, p. 32.

[32] Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 38.

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615 The people of the " Nakauvandra " clans in southern Lau trace their ancestry back nine to twelve generations directly to Ndaunisai, as shown in the genealogical abstract in *Southern Lau*.[23] Ndaunisai, according to tradition, came to Kambara from Nakauvandra in north-east Viti Levu. The history of the spread of the " Nakauvandra people " in southern Lau, as worked out on the basis of genealogies, legends and the statements of informants, is recorded in *Southern Lau*.[24] Of the eleven villages studied, clans belonging definitely to the " Nakauvandra people " were found only in the villages of Nggalinggali and Tokalau on Kambara island and Nasau on Mothe island. According to tradition and to the genealogies, the people of the " Nakauvandra " clans believe they have descended from a common mythical ancestor, Ndengei, the forefather of Ndaunisai.

The people of the land clans of southern Lau believe themselves to have descended from the earliest known inhabitants of the area. Hence I have called them the " aborigines." My critics object several times to my use of the term " aborigines " on the ground that since the land people have a Melanesian culture also they are immigrants into the area. But according to Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, the word " aborigine " means " one of the earliest known inhabitants of a country ; one of the native race." As far as can be determined on the basis of the available evidence, the land people have descended from the first settlers in the area of which any trace has been found either in the archæology, myth, tradition or the living culture (including the social organization). Therefore they conform to the dictionary definition of the word " aborigines " and until evidence is found of an earlier population, I shall continue to use the term in referring to the land people of Lau.

By population estimates the people of the land group made up at least 80% of the residents of most villages studied and 100% of several (that is, Nawatchia, Korotoku, Muanaira and Naivindamu). They are most numerous on Fulanga, Ongea and Namuka, the very islands concerning which the Native Land Commission's lists on " totemism," as published by Capell and Lester,[25] are incomplete (that is, Fulanga) or omitted entirely (that is, Namuka). The people of the land clans were not interested in their clan genealogies which in not a single case were traced back farther than four to six generations. In contrast to the " Nakauvandra " group, the land people as a whole do not trace their origin to a single traditional human ancestor (*vu*), but they claim that the land group of each island formerly believed that they originated in a particular tree or animal which was the ancestor (*vu*) of the group. For example, land people in Kambara formerly believed they originated from a *ngingia* tree ; those of Fulanga from a hen, those of Mothe from an *ivi* tree. The aborigines of Namuka, now extinct, were said to have originated from a white dog.[26] Moreover, the land people of each island mentioned above

[23] Table 2.

[24] *Southern Lau*, pp. 38-39.

[25] *Op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 28.

[26] *Southern Lau*, pp. 32, 105-106.

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claimed one or more species of fish which was propitiated with offerings of kava, food and wreaths. The sacred fish of the Kambara land people, the *nggio ndamundamu*, had the title of Tui Natakala or Ratu and was called the *wanggawangga ni vu*. That of Namuka had the title of Wangga Namuka and was called the *ika na vanua*. The land people of Kambara and Mothe also had a species of bird which was treated with respect. That of Kambara was the *toa kula* (red rooster) and had the title of Kula.

Turning to the other three historical phratries in southern Lau, we find that the *matai sau* in 1933-34 included three clans (that is, Saumua clan of Undu village on Kambara, Nggalitoka clan of Nawatchia village on Namuka, and Nasava clan of Muanaithake village on Fulanga), believed to have descended from a common ancestor god, namely Rokola. The *matai sau* hereditary carpenters were believed to have come to Kambara in search of the greenheart, a valuable hardwood which grows there, from north-east Viti Levu before the "Nakauvandra people." The *matai sau* founded the lineage which became the Saumua clan of Undu and from there the *matai sau* group spread to Fulanga.[37] Although the *matai sau* lineages traced their pedigrees only six or seven generations, the group recognized a common ancestor god and a common human ancestor with the title of Matai Sau. No information was obtained regarding "totemic" beliefs associated with the *matai sau* as a group.

One of the thirty-seven clans (namely, Matai Lemaki of Nggalinggali village on Kambara island) traced its pedigree to Lemaki, a Samoan carpenter who was reputed to have come to Lau from Samoa about eight generations ago, after the "Nakauvandra" group was well established in Lau. Therefore I classed the Matai Lemaki as a separate phratry. The clan headman held the hereditary clan title of Matai Lemaki, the title of its common ancestor. Regarding "totemic" beliefs, the group followed the usual pattern for a clan in southern Lau, to be discussed presently.

The members of two clans studied (that is, Vandravandra of Muanaithake village on Fulanga island and Tawalo of Naithulaianga on Ongea island) were known as *kai wai* (sea people). Because of their probable affiliation with an historic group of sailors and fishermen who were expelled from Mbau and fled eastward, settling in Lomai Viti, at Levuka village on Lakemba, and elsewhere in eastern Fiji, I classed the *kai wai* clans as a separate phratry.[38] Each *kai wai* clan holds the title of *ndau ni nggoli* (master fisherman) of the island on which it is located. No traces of phratry "totemic" beliefs were found among the *kai wai*.

Having surveyed briefly the main outlines of the social system as it functioned on the five islands studied, we now have a background for consideration of some specific problems raised by Capell and Lester, namely the problems of "totemism," *yavusa* and *matanggali* in southern Lau.

[37] For details, see *ibid.*, p. 23.

[38] For details, see *ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

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are not distinguished from the Numburavi (that is, Lomatchi) group (consisting entirely of land clans) in this respect. 614

It is interesting to note that in the Native Land Commission's list Undu and Lomatchi villages have almost identical "totems," which correspond to those recorded in *Southern Lau* for the Kambara land group except for the *manumanu*. However, the Nggalinggali group also claims the tree (*ngingia*) and the fish (shark) which, according to my informants, belonged to the land people of Kambara island.

Also Muanaira and Naivindamu, two Fulanga villages composed entirely of land clans and, according to my notes, reputed to be descended from the earliest inhabitants, do not fulfil the conditions laid down by the definition for classification as separate *yavusa*.

Ongea (that is, Naithulaianga village) is composed of two clans (Mata and Nggalileka) belonging definitely to the land group, one clan (Tawalo) which claims to be *kai wai*, and one clan (Tumbesara) which may belong to "Nakauvandra" but since its pedigree does not show direct descent to Ndaunisai cannot be definitely assigned to it. Ongea therefore definitely does not fulfil the dictionary definition requirements of a *yavusa* group.

Thus our inquiry into the nature of the groups labelled *yavusa* by the Native Land Commission reveals that not one fulfils the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the dictionary definition.

Of the functioning social groups defined by me in *Southern Lau*, on the other hand, three of the five phratries (namely, "Nakauvandra," Matai Lemaki and Mata Sau) do fulfil the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the definition. Moreover, all five of the clans which I have definitely assigned to the "Nakauvandra" phratry trace their pedigrees directly to their common ancestor (*vu*), namely Ndaunisai, and claim a common ancestor god (*kalou-vu*), namely Ndengei, who is reputed to be the father of the *vu*. They do not have a common set of totems, so far as my information extends, nor a common war cry. On the other hand, two of the five "Nakauvandra" clans within the phratry claim a common set of totems and a common war cry. 614 615

Of the other four phratries, the Matai Lemaki traces descent from the Samoan carpenter, Lemaki; the Matai Sau from the Matai Sau originally from Viti Levu; the *kai wai*, so far as the evidence extends, seem to stem from the *kai wai* of eastern Fiji; and the land group of each island traditionally traced its origin to some natural phenomenon on the island rather than to a common originator for all the land people.

The available evidence, therefore, leads us to infer that in southern Lau there is no over-all, area-wide social group, either based on kinship or on geography, which fulfils all of the conditions stipulated by the New Fijian Dictionary's definition of the term *yavusa*. Let us consider first the Native Land Commission data. If, as we assume from the Native Land Commission's list, each village group has a *wangga-wangga*, a tree, a fish, and a *manumanu*, then the village group fulfils one of the requirements of the definition, namely that of claiming a common set of "totems." But our analysis of the functioning social system shows that only in four of the village 114 614 615 621

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groups listed by the Native Land Commission (that is, Undu, Lomatchi, Muanaira and Naivindamu) do we find any evidence of common ancestry for all the inhabitants, and in these cases the common ancestry, being based on a traditional belief in descent from the aboriginal inhabitants of the island does not exclude the land clans from other villages on the same island.

Turning to the data presented in Southern Lau, on the other hand, we note first that the phratry groups come much nearer to fulfilling the condition of common ancestry laid down by the dictionary definition, but do not, so far as is known, have a common set of totems and a war cry. Indeed the land people are characterized as definitely unwarlike. Secondly, we note that two clans of the "Nakauvandra" phratry seem to fulfil all the conditions of the definition and it is possible that the other three "Nakauvandra" clans did so at one time. However, the remaining thirty-two clans in the area studied, as far as is known, do not fulfil these conditions.

The absence of a clear-cut *yavusa* division in the functioning social system of southern Lau, revealed by our analysis, explains both the confusion of the natives regarding the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of actual living social groups (especially the discrepancy between informants belonging to the "Nakauvandra" group and to the land group), and it explains the discrepancy between the use of the term by the Native Land Commission and by the writer. The Native Land Commission associates it with village groups (that is, groups of clans related by common residence) whereas I associate it with phratries (that is, groups of clans related by common ancestry). The *yavusa* of the Native Land Commission is a social group based on geography; that of the writer is a social group based on traditional belief in common descent from a human or mythical ancestor. Since, however, common ancestry is the key notion stressed in a literal translation of the word *yavusa*[39] as well as in Capell's definition, I conclude that there is more justification for my use of the term than for that of the Native Land Commission. Indeed it appears from the above analysis that the Native Land Commission has attempted to superimpose a previously developed formula on to the social system of southern Lau regardless of the social groups actually functioning there. And this in turn explains why Capell and Lester claim that groupings of *yavusa* in southern Lau are "easily ascertainable," a fallacy of which has been revealed by our analysis of the problem on the basis of the actual living structures.

On the basis of the above analysis, I submit that of all the social groups functioning in southern Lau, the term *yavusa* fits the phratry best. However, on account of the confusion regarding the term, it may be advisable to eliminate it altogether in describing the social system of this area.

The confusion as to the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of the actual social groups found in southern Lau is understandable on the basis of either one of two hypotheses, both of which fit into the general conclusions presented in *Southern Lau*

[39] "The original founder of the group is called its *vu*, or root . . . ; the group which originates from him is called a *yavusa*." (Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, p. 314.)